

PEACE NEWS

Brotherhood : Non-Violence : Freedom

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CAN IT BE PEACE ON EARTH?

THE UNSPOKEN PRAYER of millions this Christmas will be for peace on earth—real peace, the ending not only of shooting war, but of anxiety and fear.

Over us all hangs the dread possibility of atomic conflict. It would mean the end of all our Christmases.

Remember, no men are strange

*Remember, no men are strange, no countries foreign.
Beneath all uniforms, a single body breathes
Like ours; the land our brothers walk upon
Is earth like this, in which we all shall lie.*

*They, too, aware of sun and air and water,
Are fed by peaceful harvests, by war's long winter starved.
Their hands are ours, and in their lines we read
A labour not different from our own.*

*Remember they have eyes like ours that wake
Or sleep, and strength that can be won
By love. In every land is common life
That all can recognize and understand.*

*Let us remember, whenever we are told
To hate our brothers, it is ourselves
That we shall dispossess, betray, condemn.
Remember, we who take arms against each other,*

*It is the human earth that we defile,
Our hells of fire and dust outrage the innocence
Of air that is everywhere our own.
Remember, no men are foreign, and no countries strange.*

—from *A Spring Journey and Other Poems of 1952-53*, by James Kirkup, Oxford University Press.

This is surely Man's last extremity.

To say that there have always been wars, is no longer to say that there always will be—everybody knows now that there can only be one more war.

Might it be that in our extremity we see the error of "two thousand years of wrong?" If there were ever a time for Man to change a bad habit, this is it.

★

The way of peace is as simple as it is rewarding, as brave as it is gentle. For us in our day it demands that we renounce the instruments of might—bombs, battleships and armies—and put our trust instead in the instruments of love—goodwill, reconciliation, fellowship.

This was the teaching of the Babe whose birth is celebrated tomorrow. It is because of this that the Religion which He founded has survived.

If the civilisation which grew out of that teaching is to survive too, it must rediscover the meaning of Christmas. Hydrogen bombs and the Christmas Spirit cannot live together in the same world. One of them must go.

Which shall it be?

SWISS FACE REFERENDUM ON DISARMAMENT

One-man campaign wins support

Worldover Press Correspondent

A LONE Swiss citizen, circulating a petition for a 50 per cent. reduction in national arms appropriations, has secured 85,000 signatures, brought consternation to traditional military circles,

The International Wheat Agreement

GOLD NOT BREAD

By Leslie Hale, M.P.

WHY is wheat grown? For food? Not a bit of it—the important report of the International Wheat Council* makes that clear. Wheat is grown to exchange into money.

Those mysterious laws of supply and demand which resulted in the price of Australian wheat falling from 8s. 6d. a bushel in 1921 to 2s. 4d. in 1931 can still operate. For there is still a huge surplus of wheat in a starving world.

In 1947 Lord Boyd Orr proposed the creation of a World Food Board. He rightly claimed this could have been a turning point in world history and a vital contribution to world peace. It was turned down, principally by the United Kingdom because of the dollar shortage. In 1949 the International Wheat Agreement was negotiated and ratified by 46 countries.

Briefly it provided for a stable production and consumption of the world pool of wheat on the basis of prices guaranteed and quotas fixed at figures varying between agreed maxima and minima. By common consent it worked extremely well and might well have been extended to many other raw materials.

In 1953 our present government refused to ratify. Prices had increased and the United Kingdom contended that these prices, containing in respect of American produced wheat a domestic subsidy element, were uneconomic.

*The World Situation and the International Wheat Agreement. Published by the International Wheat Council.

and probably forced a nation-wide referendum which he cannot win, but which will produce considerable impact on popular opinion.

M. Samuel Chevallier, originator of the appeal, hardly began his campaign auspiciously. Last May, he published the text of a popular initiative in the humorous and satirical journal, *Le Bon Jour*.

The gist of his proposal was this: that in the year 1955 or 1956, military costs be cut in half, and the money thus saved be used for benefit of Swiss children, for construction of low-cost housing, and for the relief of war-ravaged regions in neighbouring countries.

LOGICAL FOR SWISS

Le Bon Jour was interested because M. Chevallier, himself a humorist, writes for it and because in general it directs its shafts against the people in power, against bureaucracy, against all abuses which offend the sense of justice possessed by the "man in the street."

When children died from cold in unheated dwellings during the winter of 1953-54, especially in France, M. Chevallier wrote articles of protest. Groping for some practical and concrete step to deal with such situations, he came up with his disarmament plan, and, as all citizens are guaranteed the right to do by the Swiss constitution, launched his appeal for a popular initiative.

Switzerland, which has not suffered from war, he argued, spends more for its army than for social works or projects of international relief. It was the logical land to set an example.

His reasoning found few favourable echoes in the leading press. The more serious journals, like the *Gazette de Lausanne*, mocked "these humorists who become moralists." The *Journal de Genève* spoke of an "astounding" initiative. General Guisan, army chief, went so far as to condemn the initiative as "criminal." Even the labour press, from its fear of Communism, has been hostile.

On the other hand, the influential weekly, *Co-operation*, published the text of the initiative and ran an article which was favourable. The periodical, *L'Essor*, which is close to the Quaker point of view, has spoken clearly in support of Chevallier.

Astonishing to many is the fact that the

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A gift from Norway: London's Christmas tree in Trafalgar Square.

Would you like to be a soldier?

70% OF YOUNG GERMANS SAY NO

"WOULD you like to be a soldier?" This was one of 41 questions put to young Germans recently in an opinion poll by the Emnid Institute in West Germany.

The Institute has just published a booklet containing the results of the poll among 1,498 young people between the ages of 15-25.

The question "Would you like to be a soldier?" was answered with "Yes" by 28 per cent., with "No" by 71 per cent.

Broken down into age groups the answers were as follows:

15-18 years, 36 per cent. Yes—62 per cent. No

18-21 years, 29 per cent. Yes—70 per cent. No

21-25 years, 20 per cent. Yes—79 per cent. No

Of the yes-votes 59 per cent came from children of farm workers; 36 per cent. from the children of refugees and expellees; but only 26 per cent from those who have always been resident in Western Germany. Of those answering "yes" 25 per cent. would be prepared to fight in a war of defence; eight per cent. would allow themselves to be conscripted, four per cent. make German sovereignty a condition, two per cent would be prepared to become soldiers in peace time, one per cent. would fight for the "liberation of Germany" and only in a "German army."

Solidarity with COs

Over 150 young persons attended a recent Christmastide meeting of the War Resisters' International group in Stuttgart.

Pastor Rudolf Daur spoke of the stand conscientious objectors were making in many countries and Rosel Lohse-Linke described the delight of young CO prisoners who received more than 300 Christmas greetings from all over the world. Warm greetings were sent from the meeting to COs.

Want to stay in civvies

At Hamburg, at Bremerhaven and at Munich, out of 37,000 members of the so-called Working Battalions, a body at the service of the Western Occupation armies, only 3,000 expressed their willingness to become soldiers in the new West German army.

On December 12, seven different groups, among the War Resisters' International section and the Socialist Youth, organised a large meeting in Berlin. The audience, which filled the hall, was unanimous in rejecting conscription. The meeting resolved to intensify the work against German rearmament and for the reunification of the country.

PPU refused stand at Schoolboys Exhibition

By HUGH BROCK

SCHOOLBOYS can find out how to fire a gun at the forthcoming Schoolboys Exhibition, but not anything about constructive peace activities.

The Peace Pledge Union have been refused a stand at the Exhibition which opens at the Horticultural Halls, Westminster on December 31. The War Office, however, will have its usual lavish display.

The PPU had hoped to have a large stand showing, among other things, the work done by conscientious objectors to combat famine, flood and earthquake in countries overseas. The Friends Work Camps Committee (Quakers) were to assist in arranging the display.

So that constructive ideas should not be completely swamped by the military, the PPU have had a small illustrated booklet "You are the men of the future," printed. Copies will be given away daily outside the Exhibition.

The PPU have sent out forms to London groups in order to draw up a rota of volunteers who will give out the booklets from 10 a.m. to 8 p.m. between December 31 and January 13 inclusive (Sundays excepted). Offers of help from Peace News readers should be sent to Sybil Morrison, Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

PEACE NEWS

3 BLACKSTOCK ROAD, LONDON, N.4
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The Preparation of Peace

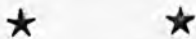
BY now all plans for Christmas have been made and the time spent on them is in strange contrast to the preparations made for the first Christmas Day.

True the prophets had tried to prepare men for the promised Coming but the verdict that "He came to His own and His own received Him not" is the measure of the ineffectiveness of that spiritual preparation. And as to the material preparation, it seems strange that Joseph should have taken Mary on so hazardous a journey at such a time when no arrangements could be made for her safety or the welfare of her Baby.

Christ does not wait until the world is ready to receive Him nor until all possible preparations have been made. Nor does He choose to speak to men in the form which they will be most likely to recognise and accept.

Would the story of the first Christmas have been different if it had taken place at some other moment—on this very Christmas Eve, for instance?

The modern welfare state would have provided full maternity benefits for Mary and her Babe. But if there would be no need for a birth in a stable, there would still be need for a death on a cross. So long as the Christian Church refuses to accept and proclaim the truth about war, those who claim to be His own still receive Him not. So long as the world rejects His method the shadow of the cross falls athwart the stable door.



TRUTH is eternal and unlike expediency does not change with circumstances of which it is always the master, nor await a strategic moment for its manifestation. At all times it is a challenge both to those who are ready to receive it and to those whose actions contradict it. This Christmas is real enough to everybody, but the truth which gives us Christmas is regarded as unrealistic and its acceptance postponed to some indefinite future.

Now, as then, those who are ready to face the realities of the situation and serve the Truth regardless of the consequences are few. If we would number ourselves among them, that is no reason for a smug self-complacency. It is a heart searching challenge to proclaim that the Babe in the manger is more powerful than the monarch on his throne; that good, even when nailed to the cross, is stronger than the evil which sends it there; that hatred is always outmatched by love and that the resistance which will not make use of violence is a more positive and effective answer to evil than violence.



TO postpone our proclamation of the Truth because others will not act upon it immediately is to invalidate the meaning of Christmas.

We must proclaim that the choice of the individual who renounces war as the fundamental denial of truth and love must find its logical extension in the unilateral disarmament of our nation. To suggest that we should wait until the majority of men are willing to accept that necessity begs the question of how they can ever come to that point unless we continue to challenge them. It is to say that Christmas Day should have been postponed until all men were ready to welcome Christ. It is, indeed, to assert that there should have been no birth at Bethlehem until there was a guarantee that there would be no cross on Calvary.

Nor must we be diverted by plans which may seem more likely to commend themselves to the multitude or by policies which seem to promise more immediate results. Not for us to persuade ourselves that there is little use in pressing for the abandonment of power politics and violence because the government will not listen. If the birth of Christ had awaited the welcome of Herod we should not be keeping Christmas in 1954. We dare not say that the time is inopportune, for the challenge has already been given. Nor dare we compromise with truth by advocating some other course because it might be more acceptable.

The rulers of the kingdoms of this world must be confronted at all times with the truth as clearly and as simply stated as when the Word took human shape, whether they will recognise Him or not. That is not for us to judge in advance. Until we are all actively engaged in working for that end it is necessary to remind pacifists that nothing less than that is involved. Christmas proclaims that now is the right moment and that because Christ is the Truth of politics and economics and of all relationships, His Way alone leads to Life.

The coming German problem

THROUGHOUT the whole of the prolonged East-West discussion on the position of Germany and Austria there has been an infatuated and wilful blindness regarding an obvious aspect of the conclusion the West was seeking, which now has to be faced.

We have repeatedly pointed out that the rearmament of Western Germany is incompatible with reunification without a major change in the orientation of German policy. We are far from making any claim to exceptional perception on this point. The thing is all too obvious and would not have been worth pointing out if the Western Powers, in their desire to get Western Germany rearmed, had not persistently sought to cover it up, and the German people, misled by the infatuation of Adenauer and his Party, been manoeuvred into a position in



which their only hope of reunification must be through a policy which in the future will defy the wishes of the West.

This fact is becoming increasingly realised in Germany. A Dusseldorf newspaper, the Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, remarks that while the treaties must be ratified "we must be ready to fight in the West against the readiness to reach a rotten compromise with the East at our expense in the future."

A Bonn newspaper, the General Anzeiger remarks that the latest Russian note emphasises that future East-West negotiations can only take place on the basis of the continued division of Germany and it remarks: "Probably it will soon mean intensified activity by those forces in Germany that are in favour of direct talks between the Bonn republic and the Soviet Union." A Hamburg newspaper, Die Welt, calls for negotiations with Moscow on the future of Germany parallel with the ratification procedure.

All these newspapers are independent in politics. The Frankfurter Rundschau, a Social Democratic paper, is much more forthright. Speaking of the US policy of achieving a balance of power with Russia through the rearming of West Germany it remarks:

"It means nothing else than a recognition of the political division of Germany until doomsday. And what does this mean for Germany? It simply means that Germany's 'Western troops' are to stand for years balanced against Germany's 'Eastern troops'."

All this is before the die is cast. After ratification the Western statesmen will find that Germany has become their biggest headache.

Austria too

MUCH the same set of considerations apply to Austria. From the USA, from Britain, and most recently in the approach of M. Mendes-France to Moscow, the suggestion is made that a settlement of the Austrian question is a reasonable test to be applied to Russian intentions and goodwill.

Now we should be far from deprecating a Russian approach to the Austrian question in a completely non-calculating sense, with a concern merely to provide a settlement that will be satisfactory to the Austrian people. We wish they would approach the question in this spirit. We are fully aware, however, that if they were to do so they would be acting in a much more disinterested and humanistic spirit than is being manifested in the West.

BEHIND THE NEWS

We can only assume, therefore, until one side or the other manifests a change of heart, that Russia, like America and Britain, will think and act in terms of military strength; and if we have to accept this it is absurd to think that the Eastern bloc will look at the Austrian question, any more than the German question, in the terms of the pronouncements made by the West.

There can be a withdrawal of the occupation troops from Austria, and the Austrian state can be neutralised, say the Western statesmen. It can, that is to say constitute a "power vacuum"; but where Germany is concerned a power vacuum is something that is just inconceivable—a vain and impracticable suggestion!

Why should Russia be expected to regard Austria as an area that can be placed outside the power struggle when it is impossible that this can apply to Germany? The continued occupation of Austria offers some distinct military advantages to Russia. It is true that Austria cannot be armed against the West as can East Germany. The maintenance of occupation troops however keeps open the way for the transport of Russian troops across Rumania and Hungary, and it can ensure that Austria, despite its present declared neutralism does not be-

BUTTER, NOT BOMBS

Washington.

The Friends Committee on National Legislation (Quakers) has given testimony before the House Committee on Agriculture regarding food surpluses in which it quoted Jesus as having said, "If thine enemy hunger, feed him," pointing out that this was one way to reconcile man to man. "America has offered arms to England, France, Western Germany, Italy, Turkey, Greece, Pakistan, India, China, Formosa, Japan and many other countries," the Quakers stated. "Why not share with the rest of the world butter instead of bombs, wheat instead of warships, cottonseed oil instead of cannon, milk instead of munitions, fats instead of flame-throwers, life instead of death?" [CNS]

come embodied as part of the power of Germany and the West when German military strength is once more sufficiently advanced for this to take place.

An anti-Communist alliance

STEPHEN PARNELL sends the following note on the S.E. Asia Collective Defence Treaty.

That the treaty is an anti-Communist alliance and not an anti-aggression treaty is clearly shown in the text of Mr. Dulles's formal letter to President Eisenhower when submitting the treaty to the US Senate.

"In the case of the United States, only a Communist armed attack can bring that treaty provision into operation... In the event of other aggression or armed attack it will consult under the provisions of Article IV, paragraph 2... For the United States, however, it is expressly stipulated that the only armed attack which the United States would regard as necessarily dangerous to our peace and security would be a Communist armed attack."

Article V of the treaty establishes a Council on which Australia, France, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, Thailand, the United Kingdom, and the USA are to be represented; but Mr. Dulles says:

"No material changes in the military

planning of the United States will be required by our participation in the Council. At present, United States plans call for maintaining at all times powerful naval and air forces in the Western Pacific capable of striking at any aggressor by means and at places of our choosing."

In short the US Government can decide to use the atomic or hydrogen bomb against "any aggressor" (which the text clearly states means "only a Communist armed attack"), whatever the rest of the Council wish.

"1984"

IT is of some significance that the televised version of George Orwell's "1984" made such an impression.

The book is certainly one of the most important ever written, but it seemed destined to have provided a source of discussion for a relative few, until the play came along.

The book prophesies the future of a Britain, smashed and degraded (like every other nation) in a massive world war, absorbed by America and settled down to a regime of absolute totalitarianism and permanent, conventional-type war with two other world blocs.

The only function that the people have in this nightmare world is to support the power of their leaders. The only aim of the leaders is to maintain that power.

But Orwell, profoundly disillusioned with the centralist, authoritarian tendencies of socialism everywhere (he was once an enthusiastic socialist himself) sets out to show the awful spiritual possibilities of dictatorship.

He may well have had in mind the Biblical injunction to fear not those who may destroy the body and then have no more that they can do, for he seeks to suggest that through skilful psychiatric techniques it is possible for a man to have his spirit broken and to surrender himself body and soul to the regime.

This complete possession of the individual by the State is what totalitarianism means, but it took an Orwell to portray it in these terms. The most frightening thing about his picture is that it is so close to reality today. Not only in the Communist world, but also in the West, the trends towards the total state are there.

1994!

ABOUT two-thirds of the Army in Britain lives in temporary buildings. The Army authorities have plans for building and modernising barracks which will house half of this two-thirds in permanent buildings by the 1970s. At the same rate of progress all troops will be properly housed in barracks by say, 1994.

No-one can accuse our brass-hats of being without optimism, even idealism.



It will be seen that they are working on the assumption that by 1974, when they will have completed the first half of their programme, nothing will have essentially changed. There will apparently have been no atomic war by that time, which is all to the good, and says much for the optimism of the army.

There is evidently idealism, too, however, for it is clear that these plans are based on the assumption that the menace of the atom and hydrogen bombs will have been satisfactorily dealt with and eliminated from warfare. It will therefore be possible to proceed comfortably with plans for the continuance of warfare on the old "conventional" lines. Nothing like Mr. Noel-Baker's 1884 plan, of course: it is necessary to be reasonable even at one's most idealistic.

A PRAYER FOR THE NEW YEAR

MEDITATING the other day on the closing of another year and the beginning of a new one, I found my mind turning back several times to the quotation from Helmut Gollwitzer's *Unwilling Journey* which I used last week. Perhaps you remember its conclusion. He had a pistol, and reflected that the Sermon on the Mount did not suggest meeting one's enemy with a weapon. He finally decided not to throw the pistol away—yet. He would think it over: "I will postpone the decision: it is pleasant not to have finally decided, to have the alternative still open, the good and the evil..."



For how many the true characterisation of the year that is passing is "the year of postponed decisions." How many will enter the New Year with the basic motive of their lives: "I will postpone the decision: it is pleasant not to have finally decided." For those who make a decision which has this mark of finality and precision about it and which is therefore creative, the year ahead will be one of those years in a man's life for which the term "happy" is utterly inadequate.

Was it Kipling who told the story about the man who died and went to heaven and they would not admit him there because he had

never done any good; so then he went down to hell and applied for admission there, but they would not let him in there either because he had never done any real, outright, healthy wrong thing either?



Jesus never seems to have been greatly worried that his disciples would do wicked things. What he feared was that they would become insipid—salt that had lost its savour, leaven that no longer worked, a light carefully stowed away under a bushel.

The starry-eyed poet who wrote the Book of Revelation was certainly right when he saw the Lord come to judgment pronounce the severest condemnation on the "luke-warm." Because "thou art neither hot nor cold, I will spew thee out of my mouth."

Speaking of postponed decisions, I can never forego mentioning in this context St. Augustine's prayer—uttered in his pre-saintly period: "Lord, make me pure, but not yet."

One thinks not only of individuals but also of organisations and movements that find it "pleasant" to equivocate, to postpone the final decision.

A newspaper the other day carried a dispatch from South Africa about an inter-racial church conference. The reporter said the conference supported the Government's apar-

theid policy. It also called on all Christians to treat every human being with honour and respect. Then the reporter summed it all up—a much more revealing and profound summary, probably, than he was aware of—by saying:

"On one side were the Dutch Reformed Churches which favour apartheid but are far ahead of politicians in thinking of territorial separation of races. On the other hand were most of the other denominations, including some English Churches, that criticise apartheid but practice race segregation in varying degrees themselves."

So much easier to take the wrong stand, for a Christian church, and to soften it a bit or to take the right stand and not live up to it, than simply to do the Christian thing.



I think of the multitudes of Christians, including some very prominent teachers of the Church, who like Helmut Gollwitzer with his pistol, cannot make up their minds about war. There are also the political leaders, including so many Socialist and Labour party people in various lands, who keep thinking they will find a formula which combines social programmes for the true well-being of the people and military defence including just enough atomic equipment to deter but not to terrorise or provoke another nation. Often in these days

they will add that, of course, eventually we shall all have to come to Gandhi's way. But it is "pleasant" to postpone the decision.



Back of the answer, is the question. Back of the right answer, the right question. Jesus assumed the Rich Young Ruler was going through the conventional motion of asking a question, when he said, "What must I do to inherit eternal life?" So the conventional "answer" was given: "Do not kill, do not steal..." And, of course, the Young Ruler passed himself on that test. But then he came to the question: "What lack I yet?" To this came the answer demanding decision: "Sell your goods, give to the poor, come and follow me." He made the decision, the wrong one, and therefore it is written that "he went away sorrowful." It would have been more "pleasant" to postpone the decision, to say as perhaps most of us do in such moments: "I'll think it over some more."

So, as the old year fades, a prayer for myself and all of us that it may be a New Year in which we ask real questions, not go through the motions of asking the old questions and awaiting the familiar answers. A prayer that having received the answer we may not postpone the decision.

To tell pacifists that they must abstain from voting on an issue which will make conscription a permanent feature of peace-time Britain is a bit thick. To tell them that they can keep their pacifism and their membership of the Parliamentary Labour Party only as long as they abstain from voting against the creation of a new European army is surely a joke in the worst possible taste. Pacifists are to be safe in the Party's regard as long as they do not vote as pacifists.

—GEORGE THOMAS, MP, British Weekly, December 2, 1954.

The Opposition (in the Lords) lay low and said nothing. It was acting up to the new revelation that came to Mr. Attlee, Mr. Morrison, and Mr. Whiteley last week that you can support a policy by not voting for it.

—MANCHESTER GUARDIAN, November 25, 1954.

People are apathetic about politics, not just about the Labour Party and its plans. A great many of them, for example, have stopped listening to party political broadcasts.

These may not be a very stirring or important form of political propaganda, but the fact remains that a certain number of citizens used to listen to these broadcasts before 1951 and that only half of them listen today.

One-quarter of those who no longer listen now watch television instead, but three-quarters have chosen neither to see nor to hear their elected leaders. The decline was not gradual but sudden, as these things go. It applied to both parties and it persists.

—MARK ARNOLD-FOSTER, Manchester Guardian, December 9, 1954.

"Pin-up" newspapers have increased their sales by two millions while sales of the other daily newspapers have dropped by one million during the past year. So estimates Frank Machin, Daily Herald Northern editor.

—WORLD'S PRESS NEWS, Nov. 26, 1954.

Salvaged from the refuse heap, soiled and defaced, Stalin's figure has been granted a new but rather meagre allowance of ideological respectability. These posthumous vicissitudes of the Stalin cult, so comic to the outsider, are gravely portentous to the Soviet citizen, to whom they indicate how far he is, or is not, allowed to drift away from the old orthodoxy and discipline.

The debunking of Stalinism is now evidently under a ban. But quietly the departure from Stalinism continues in many fields. Where orthodoxy hampers technological progress and economic efficiency the canons of Stalinism are being jettisoned without much ado.

—ISAAC DEUTSCHER, The Times, November 16, 1954.

We tend to minimise the consequences of nuclear warfare, and justify our preparation for it by attributing an almost supernatural power and permanence to Soviet dictatorship. It is better for our civilisation to die (we feel) than to co-operate in an Orwellian 1984.

As Mr. Isaac Deutscher has recently been pointing out in The Times, however, the effect in Russia of three decades of Stalinism has little resemblance to Orwell's nightmare; "creative impulses and longings have not been destroyed under the crushing pressure of thought-control. Flattened and cramped, they are nevertheless throbbing and stirring." I do not want my descendants to be flattened and cramped, but better that than the effects of a high level of radio-activity. There is more future in it.

—GEOFFREY CARNALL, Manchester Guardian, November 24, 1954.

"Peaceful co-existence" can never have any meaning until the terms of the co-existence have been worked out and agreed. That would require a high-level meeting such as Sir Winston Churchill suggested.

—DAVID FLOYD, Daily Telegraph, November 16, 1954.

Here in South Africa there is a constant, deliberate and sustained attack on human rights and dignities which constitutes, if ever anything did, a challenge to the Christian conscience throughout the world. It is more terrible that this attack is made by a Government which proclaims itself Christian, and by a people which desires to maintain for itself a position of "supremacy" on the ground that it is upholding Christian civilization and Christian values.

—TREVOR HUDDLESTON, British Weekly, December 2, 1954.

Professors, officers, schoolmasters, magistrates, in a word the elite who take French enlightenment to Africa, realise with consternation that the formula "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," which they had engraved on public monuments, has turned against them and become a seditious slogan.

—M. JEAN FARRAN, French journalist, quoted in broadcast talk on "The French Government's Dilemma in Algeria."

The good points of the present Chinese system depend on leaders who are genuinely devoted to what they consider to be the best interests of the Chinese people. The Chinese Communist party has not had a Stalin who gives first priority to his own personal power, and the present leaders are people who joined the party when this was a dangerous and self-sacrificing thing to do. But what will happen when the present leaders are replaced by people who joined the party when this had become the way to a successful career? Unless there is some development towards democratic institutions which allow the Chinese people to control their rulers it is doubtful whether the ruling oligarchy will remain benevolent.

—LORD LINDSAY OF BIRKER, Manchester Guardian, November 24, 1954.

REPORT FROM GERMANY

Wide support for disarmament and neutrality

By STUART MORRIS

General Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union—the British Section of the War Resisters' International

I WAS among the first allowed to go as civilians to Germany after World War II, and originally went with the goodwill of the British authorities.

It had been agreed that Germany was to be completely disarmed and to remain permanently disarmed, and the British Government was glad to know that the peace movement in Germany was reviving. I well remember the talk I had after my first visit with Lord Pakenham, who was then Minister for German Affairs.

He said that he hoped I would be able to go again the following year because, as he put it, "if the men of war make war, it is the men of peace who have to make the peace."

Three years later the American Political Officer at Munich tried to prevent my speaking there, and only gave way when I told him that unless he arrested me I intended to go on with the meeting.

The following year two German policemen were stationed at the door of the meeting place to carry out, as enquiries revealed, the order of the Bavarian Minister of the Interior, banning all meetings to discuss German rearmament.

BAN BY MILITARY FAILED

We again managed to hold our meeting, but when later I had to apply to the German Consulate in London for a renewal of my visa I was told that though they were quite ready to grant it, they had been instructed by the Allied Control Commission (to whom they had to refer all such matters) to refuse.

I only got my visa after taking the matter up with the Foreign Office.

I recall these incidents to illustrate what has been happening in and to Germany. I have not changed the principles I have tried to explain nor the policy I have advocated on each of my visits to Germany.

But the policy of the British and American Governments has changed so that what was acceptable in 1947 became anathema by 1950.

They had decided on the rearmament of W. Germany, and have persisted in their plans until Western European Union awaits ratification, and W. Germany will be integrated into the Western system of defence.

The "peace time" contribution from W. Germany will be some 500,000 soldiers, including Panzer divisions and a new Luftwaffe in addition—not that such an army can defend Germany but it is supposed to make Britain and America feel safer.

West Germany is being forced to pay the price of British and American fears of Communism, and the bill is about to be presented, not to Dr. Adenauer but to the German people.

It includes the rearmament of W. Germany (and so inevitably of East Germany), conscription, and taxation for war purposes. It must have its effect on the attempt to build a social democracy in W. Germany, and, must mean the indefinite postponement of any hope of the reunification of divided Germany.

LIVELY DISCUSSIONS

I was, therefore, very glad to be able to accept the invitation of the German section of the War Resisters' International to pay them another visit at this critical time. Important Land elections were taking place in Bavaria and Hesse at the end of November; the debate on the London and Paris Agreements in the Bundestag was to follow; and plans for bringing a new W. German army into being were taking final shape.

My tour took me to many of the larger cities in W. Germany, Frankfurt, Heidelberg, Mannheim, Stuttgart, Munich, Nuremberg, Hanover, Hamburg, Lubeck, Osnabrück, Dortmund, Cologne, and others, in each of which I spoke at a public meeting. I also had the opportunity of meeting groups of students and representatives of the Press. The meetings were arranged by the groups belonging to the German section of the WRI, sometimes in co-operation with the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft. Attendances were good and there was always a long and lively discussion, and in every case several new members signed up.

One object of my visit was the encouragement of the existing Groups, some of which have only been formed quite recently. The pacifist movement in Germany is growing in numbers and increasing in activities, though they are handicapped by a lack of money, which makes it impossible for them to have any paid full-time workers or undertake the holding of as many meetings and the printing of as many leaflets as they would wish.

Around the hard core of pacifists there has developed a very large body of men and women seriously alarmed at the prospect of the rearmament of Germany and strongly opposed to conscription. There was ample evidence of that wherever I went.

NOW OR NEVER

Opposition is not necessarily or mainly based on pacifist grounds. It is natural that the German people should oppose any step leading to an even more complete destruction of their country.

So far as the audiences at my meetings were concerned I found that few had any accurate knowledge of what the Nine-Power Agreements contain or of the ineffectiveness of the controls on a remilitarised Germany.

But they realised that once W. Germany is rearmed the Western Powers will have thrown away their last bargaining factor with the Soviet Union and that Russia will no longer be interested in a conference whose main purpose for them lies in preventing such rearmament.

Many Germans realise that it is goodbye to reunification which they all want rather than rearmament.

Many Germans have had the experience of life in Communist hands as prisoners-of-war, and they frankly admitted that it was better to have been taken prisoner than to have been killed.

They would still prefer, if necessary and in the last resort, to run the risk of Communist domination than be involved in plans which add to the danger of the complete destruction of Germany in another war.

I found widespread support for the following: The calling of a Four Power Conference before West Germany has been rearmed;

The suggestion that the Soviet Union should agree to any reasonable conditions laid down by the West to ensure that the elections of an all-German government should be really free and secret;

WHEAT NOT WEHRMACHT

The abandonment of the Western Powers' plan to rearm Germany;

The withdrawal of all foreign troops from Germany;

Disarmament and neutrality for the reunited Germany as the first step towards general disarmament.

There was approval for the suggestion that instead of providing the money for armaments a united Germany should make a substantial contribution of money, materials and technical assistance to the under-developed countries, again on the understanding that as they disarmed the other countries would make a similar reallocation of their resources.

Should Catholics wage war?

THERE were many duties in modern warfare which a Catholic already in the Forces would have to refuse to undertake on conscientious grounds.

This view was expressed by the Rev. Father Murdoch Scott, OP, when he read a paper on "Conscience and the Conscientious Objector," at a recent weekend conference on "Christian Peace and Pacifism" at Spode House, Rugeley, Staffs.

Primarily planned for Catholics and attended by about 40 people, the conference was addressed by clergy and lay men.

OBEY CONSCIENCE

Father Scott maintained that the conditions of modern war, terrible though they may be, were not legitimate grounds for a Catholic refusing to fight, although he stressed that a Catholic must obey his own conscience.

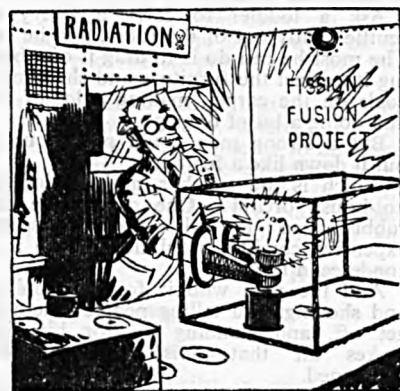
Speaking on "The Vocation of a Peacemaker," Father Anthony Ross, OP, stressed the harm which pacifists can do to their own cause by over-emphasis of their case, by refusing to respect the convictions of non-pacifists, by failing to carry their intellectual convictions into their daily lives and by failing to inform themselves as to the essential responsibilities of their position.

It is hoped to organise a second conference in the spring of 1955.

THE SCIENTIST

SUNDAY

MONDAY



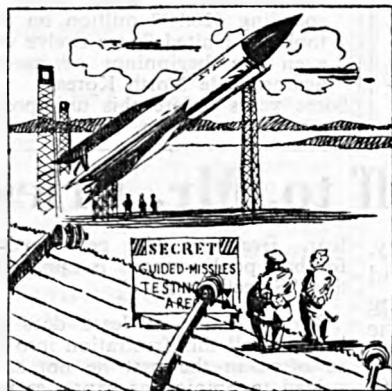
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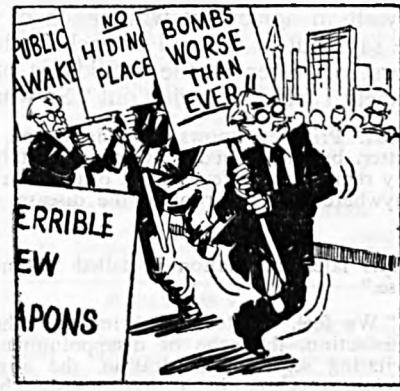
THURSDAY

FRIDAY



SATURDAY

SUNDAY



MOVEMENT NEWS

Christian Action, 2 Amen Court, E.C.4.

"CARELESSNESS on the roads is sometimes a crime—it is always a sin," says a new leaflet issued by Christian Action in its campaign for road safety.

The leaflet points out that three times as many people have been seriously injured on the roads of Britain in the past six years as were injured during the six years of bombing. The estimated cost of road accidents in 1953 was £100 million. This is enough to build 20,000 houses, 50 hospitals and 200 schools.

The leaflet calls for Christian concern and activity to reduce the toll. It is available from

Understanding between the nations and the need to aid underdeveloped parts of the world were the issues stressed at a meeting in East Ham Town Hall on Wednesday, November 24, when a local United Nations Association Branch was formed. Representatives from local political parties along with others from East Ham Peace Movement, local co-op Guilds, etc., pledged support for the new venture. The Deputy-Mayor, Ald. Chapman, presided.

DON'T waste a GORILLA!

Reprinted by permission from Reveille, November 12, 1954.

"I'M a tough guy, I am! You can hear plenty of kids saying it, as they charge about with toy pistols and Tommy-guns, playing at crooks and G-men.

And it's a splendid thing to be, provided it's the right kind of toughness.

If somebody would compute the number of things that toughness has smashed since the world began, the number of broken limbs and heads and houses and homes and hearts, what would the number be?

No doubt toughness is sometimes unavoidable; but it is always a second best that you have to use because *real* toughness is beyond you. If I were attacked by an angry gorilla, what would be the best thing to do?

WELL, if I were tough enough I might play a Bulldog Drummond trick on him; snap his neck with a sudden jerk, or off-handedly toss him down a precipice. But that wouldn't be the very best thing to do. It would waste the gorilla.

It would be much better to go up to him, calm him down with a pat on the head or a kind word, and march him back to his menagerie. But I should have to be very tough indeed, to do that; quite fearless, and full of pity. I doubt whether I could manage it.

This isn't just nonsense. The wisest man who ever lived said: "Blessed are the meek," not "Blessed are the tough"; and meek means gentle, and you have to be strong to be gentle.

Ask a toddler to carry a heavy coal scuttle gently out of the room, and he can't. The most he can do is to drag it out, bumping it against the furniture and shedding the coals on the carpet, making a lot of noise and doing a lot of damage.

But a strong man could pick it up and put it down like a feather.

Which is the tougher, a dandelion or a hot-house orchid? One can thrive on a rubbish-heap; the other wants all sorts of expensive conditions fulfilled before it will descend to grow.

And the man who is for ever bullying, and shoving, and telling people where they get off, and standing up for his rights, makes all that noise because he is frightened.

He is an orchid that can scream for what it wants. Give me the dandelion.

WHICH is tougher, canvas or tissue paper? The man who thinks mercy and gentleness and forbearance are sissy words, far beneath a tough like him, will find that any friendship he tries to make will tear like tissue paper the first time things go wrong, because for all his toughness he can't make it tough enough.

Yes, there have always been plenty of toughs in the world, toughs of the smashing kind, and they certainly can smash. They will face what hardships and dangers you like to get their own way. We'll give them that.

But we want a good many more of the super-toughs who can take it in soul as well as body; who don't automatically hit back when hit; who can forgive, and make allowances, and love where they are hated, and carry the thick end of the log and be proud to.

And then there would not be so many wars.

So be a tough guy if you like; but be really tough, and then you may find that after all you are a gentle man.

THE TENTH CHRISTMAS

By L. M. Middleton

UNTIL I was ten years old Christmas was the most beautiful day in the year. Christmas time was so mysterious. The hidden presents, the Christmas Tree in the locked room. The lovely excitement of the "stocking," as peering in the dim early morning light one came across all the little surprises; the sugar mouse, the little flaxen-haired doll, perhaps a tiny cot with little sheets and blankets or maybe a bath with wee sponge and soap. Then the delight of snuggling back into bed with sweets, biscuits and fruit, all the little treasures arranged on the chair by the bed.

Then too I loved making the pincushions, needlebooks and writing cases for my many aunts and friends. And my Mother always took on the responsibility of decorating the Church. We would pick all the best flowers in the greenhouse and range the woods for holly.

How quiet and still the Church seemed, with no other people there. I would tip-toe up to the cradle with the angel at the head and the big banner over it with "Peace and Goodwill" embroidered on it. It was a beautiful banner with flowers, cherubs and little birds on it all in lovely colours. It was very old and there was a legend about it that said it had been made by a young girl whose fiancé had been killed at the battle of Waterloo. The shock of the news made her an invalid for the rest of her life. She started to make the banner, it took her five years and when it was finished she died.

I WAS a rather lonely child, as we lived some miles outside the village and our nearest contact was the Vicarage. The Vicar's sister came each day to give me lessons. I loved Miss Armitage, she was a sweet and kindly woman. She taught me that cruelty and unkindness were the most terrible of sins. But as both were quite foreign to my nature, this did not disturb me much. I was fairly good and what was then called a "biddable" child and I felt a real love for everyone including our grumpy old cook.

The Christmas after my tenth birthday came during the Boer War, and my Uncle Tim, who had been invalided out of the army minus a leg and with a VC came to spend Christmas Day with us.



At that time war to me meant just a game, like the boys played with their tin soldiers, horses and cannon. There were wounded, of course, who were brought back to the hospital tent on stretchers and nursed by kind and pretty nurses, and the few dead were buried with great pomp and ceremony.

Uncle Tim's arrival gave me my first shock. Gone was the jolly, laughing young man of a year ago. He looked tired and haggard. The usual happy walk to church was sad. No hide and seek amongst the trees lining the avenue, no exciting races. We had to walk slowly because of Uncle Tim's leg. I went and held his hand all the way to church to show him how much I loved him. But the Church and even the banner did not seem so beautiful

now, when such dreadful things could happen to my Uncle Tim.

IT was something that Uncle Tim said at dinner that Christmas Day that ended for me my childish happiness. It was at the finish when I was enjoying my almonds and raisins and looking out of the window at the snow falling so slowly and quietly, it made me feel quite sleepy. The grown-ups had forgotten me. Suddenly Mother leaned across the table to Uncle Tim and said:

"Tim, you have never told us how you got it, tell us Tim."

"Oh, the VC you mean," said Uncle Tim looking at her with sad eyes, "to tell you the truth I don't like thinking about it. I would have refused it but the regiment would have been disappointed."

"It was our colonel who got left behind wounded. He was a sadistic devil and all the men hated him, yet somehow I could not leave him there, so I had to go and fetch him. What worried me afterwards was that I had had to shoot two fellows who had spotted me before I could get him away. Who knows they may have been jolly decent chaps with wives and children, worth twenty of our whisky-swilling colonel. I hate thinking about it." And he put up his hand and shaded his eyes with it.

My Mother turned her head to look out of the window and saw my face, tears running down my cheeks. She jumped up overturning her chair as she ran round to me and gathered me into her arms.

"My darling, my baby, what is it?" she cried. I put my arms round her neck and sobbed.

"Poor Uncle Tim, he's so unhappy and it's Christmas Day," Uncle Tim looked up anxiously. "Sorry," he said, "I quite forgot the child."

I ran round and kissed him and Mother got out some more crackers and we were soon laughing and happy again. But it was a long time before I stopped thinking about my Uncle Tim. For the first time I felt frightened of growing up. Terrible things happened to grown-ups. Perhaps it was as well that in the summer it was decided to send me to boarding school. In the hurly-burly of school life my fears gradually left me but I never loved Christmas again as I had before.

Britain must switch over to "defence without guns," writes Alan Litherland

Security in an atomic world

IT is the duty of every government to promote and protect the welfare of its people, and this includes defence against possible attack from outside. The methods which have been used for defence have changed out of recognition in the past fifty years and are now in danger of annihilating the people they are supposed to defend. Obviously, if mankind is to survive, we now need another change—but this time in a new direction.

In 1945 General Eisenhower, conscious of the terrific power of atomic attack, said that America's only defence against it would be to stage an "immediate and overwhelming counter-attack." Five years later, after spending £20,000 million on armaments, it took the United States twelve weeks to stage even the beginnings of a counter-attack against little North Korea!

Some years before this unimpressive demonstration in Korea, in an outstanding book

"One World or None," Professor Ridenour, former radar adviser to General Spaatz in Europe, devoted a whole chapter to the theme that against atomic attack "There is No Defence." Like Eisenhower, he was thinking in terms of the United States, not of this little island of ours, and he envisaged attack by "ordinary" atom bombs, not H-bombs.

Now they are making hydrogen bombs, which could destroy the whole of the London area from Enfield to Croydon and from Woolwich to Ealing.

In short, no matter how highly armed we may be, it has now become a physical impossibility to defend this country, or any other country, in the sense of effectively neutralising any attack which could be made upon it. This fact, which became true with the advent of ordinary atom bombs, produces an entirely new situation, and the militarists are aware of it. From now on, whether we be militarists or pacifists, we can only rely on moral forces to try to ensure that the attack never comes.

The militarists, of course, rely on fear—the fear of retaliation—and hope that somehow the rival blocs will be able to threaten one another harmlessly across a growing mountain of explosive material, until the wicked Russians decide to be good and both sides start beating their swords into ploughshares. A short study of history shows that no arms race has ever ended in this way before, and that the militarists' reliance on fear is the surest way to destruction.

THE OTHER WAY

The other way to security is illustrated, on the individual scale, by the experience of the Quakers in the Irish rebellion. With battles raging all round them, they gave help and hospitality impartially to both sides, and on the whole they were respected by both sides and molested by neither. We may attribute this comparative security to four things: it was well known that they could be trusted; it was well known that they were unarmed; it was well known that they helped those in need without stint; and there was nothing to be gained by harming them.

These four attributes form the moral basis for a nation's security in a fear-ridden world.

If a nation has won a reputation for integrity, generosity and unarmed-ness, and if other nations have nothing to fear from it and no material advantage to gain from attacking it, that nation will be secure. The degree of our security in an atomic world will depend on the extent to which we have attained those four difficult objectives.

Examples of nations which have attained this kind of security in the past are the Indian Empire of King Asoka, who renounced war in 254 BC and ruled in peace for 28 years ("One of the brightest interludes in the troubled history of mankind"—H. G. Wells) and the unarmed colony of Pennsylvania, which lived at peace with the neighbouring Indians for 70 years.

But suppose we try this method and fail? Suppose, in spite of all our efforts, some nation still thinks to gain something by

"walking in" and taking over the country, is there any "last ditch" defence to replace the military insanity of mutual extermination?

There certainly is, and we may illustrate this from history, too.

In 1920 the people of Berlin defeated a military "putsch" by a reactionary German general and drove out the invading armed forces within six days—without firing a single shot. In the middle of the last century the Hungarian people threw off the Austrian oppression and regained their fundamental freedoms by passive resistance, after armed rebellion had been tried and failed. In 1940-45, while Germany occupied Norway, the Norwegian people by similar methods prevented the Nazification of the country

★ On next page



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Where are you off to, Mr. Priestley?

FOR some time now Mr. J. B. Priestley, in many ways an admirable and stimulating writer, has been contributing articles to the New Statesman under the general title of "Thoughts in the Wilderness." From his wilderness in the Isle of Wight, he has diagnosed and discussed some of the disorders of the day. I find myself in agreement with much of what he says but at the end of each fresh outburst of anger at the stupidities of our society I feel like crying out "So what?"

Mr. Priestley knows what is wrong, none better, but his remedies (when in fact he has any remedies to offer) do not often seem to go anywhere near the root of the disease.

His latest meditation is called "Something Else."

"We feel," writes Mr. Priestley, "the dissatisfaction, the ache of disappointment, the irritating sense of frustration, the anger at having somehow been mysteriously cheated, and we try to find sensible reasons, usually on a newspaper topic level..."

Then he tells us, incidentally yet not irrelevantly, of the increase in alcohol consumption in the English middle class: "Every new enterprise now is launched on a flood of dry Martinis, pink gins and double Scotches." Apparently all because of a mysterious factor that is missing from people's lives—this "x," which he calls "Something Else."

He grudgingly agrees that a religious faith can diminish, if not eliminate, the uneasiness that haunts many of us even in our seemingly happy moments. The possession of money and ambition gratified appear to count for very little when a man is confronted with this odd

fear. Everyone who gets beyond filling in football pool coupons is apparently aware of this "Something Else."

Mr. Priestley at least does a service in bringing all this frustration into the open. As so often in the past he not so much gives a lead to opinion as expresses it in dramatic terms; he is, after all, primarily an imaginative writer. One cannot help feeling that Mr. Priestley may be trembling on the brink of religious certainty, like so many people who for years have been vaguely liberal and well-meaning.

How brilliantly Mr. Priestley sees what is wrong: "We lack, we Something Elses, the unifying force of a strong religious faith." Soviet Russia, once a kind of dreamland of co-operative enterprise, has let down the liberals. They turned away in disgust from Stalin's cult of power. And democracy as we know it hardly inspires anybody any longer, for it is tired and unsure of its values. All the double whiskies and pink gins imaginable do not lessen, except for a moment or two, the threat of atomic destruction.

The picture is indeed a terrible one, although perhaps towards the end of 1954 we can discern just a glimmer of light on the horizon. And yet every Christmas the good news is proclaimed anew for those who will listen. Can't you hear it, Mr. Priestley? Surely it is that mysterious "Something Else" whose existence you now admit? If enough of us hear that message of good news, and having heard it, do something about it, then Peace On Earth can indeed become more than a platitude. I should very much like to see Mr. Priestley use his talents to lead his weary and disillusioned "Something Elses" out of their wilderness of despair. But first, of course, he must decide where exactly he is going.

Robert Greacen

Security in an atomic world

* From page four

and preserved their fundamental internal freedoms.

This kind of "defence without guns" is a subject in itself, but briefly it has two sides, both of which were well illustrated in the 1924 "battle" of Berlin. One is a complete refusal to accept or obey a rule imposed from without. The other is a persistent and friendly fraternisation with invading or occupying troops. Both require courage, unity and willingness to suffer, but both, as history shows, can be potent and effective weapons of defence.

That is the change we must have if mankind is to survive—and someone must lead the way. Let us hope that Britain will be the first great nation in the twentieth century to put her faith in the security of good will; if necessary demonstrating in the hard way the effectiveness of "defence without guns." That would be the beginning of the end of the long tyranny of war.

WANTED £91



I KNOW that you will all be delighted to see that the Total of the Peace Pledge Union Headquarters Fund has jumped up from the previously advertised figure of £706 to £909.

This is due to very generous gifts of £100, £25 and £10 and of other substantial amounts from some of our friends.

These gifts have been sent specially in order to encourage others to help us reach our aim of £1,000 by the end of the year.

This will be the last opportunity for me to send an appeal to you this year, and I wish I knew how to word it so that not one of you could resist it.

I could not be appealing for a better cause, for you all know that the work and witness of the Peace Pledge Union is of paramount importance and must not be allowed to falter. I could not be appealing at a better time, for this is Christmas with its message of peace and good will. I could not be appealing to more interested and kindly people, for each of you is a real lover of peace.

I know that you would not want us to fail when we are in sight of our aim. Please stretch out a hand and help to pull us in.

Will any reader send me £100, £50, £25 or £10? Many of you could not send so large a sum, however much you might want to do so, but each of you can send something. I do appeal to you—everyone of you who has not yet sent anything to the PPU Headquarters Fund this year—to send something, if it is no more than a shilling.

For the sake of our vital cause, in keeping with the spirit of Christmas and because you are a lover of peace help us to reach that £1,000 by the end of the year.

I hope you will one and all have a very happy Christmas and I am sure that it will be all the happier if, as part of your Christmas celebrations, you do remember to send a Christmas present to Headquarters Fund.

STUART MORRIS,
General Secretary.

We must reach £1,000 by January 8, 1955. We already have £909 which only leaves £91. How much of this can you send?

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to

P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS

Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select notices for publication. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

Thursday, December 30

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Mr. Reg. Sorensen, M.P. "My Far Eastern Tour." PPU.

Sunday, January 2

NOTTINGHAM: 7.15 p.m.; Co-op Hall, Parliament St. George Craddock, MP and Victor Yates, MP. "Labour for Peace." Chair: Clr. John Kenyon, JP, Labour Peace Fellowship.

Every week!

SUNDAYS

HYDE PARK: 3 p.m.; Pacifist Youth Action Group. Every Sunday. PYAG.

TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m.; Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPF.

WEDNESDAYS

NOTTINGHAM: 1.15 p.m.; Open-air mtg. Old Market Sq. Rev. Donald Pipe and others. For. PPU.

THURSDAYS

LONDON, W.C.1: 1.15-1.45 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen St. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by clergy and laymen of different denominations.

Letters to the Editor

Democracy

"THE worth of the human person" John Jeremy tells us (Dec. 3) is the foundation of the pacifist view. This is precisely what I advocate but it does not imply belief in majority rule.

He thinks that "the best way to legislate is as the greater number desire", but although such a system is appropriate where intelligence or stupidity is spread equally among all individuals and also suited to folk who have no standards of judgment other than "public opinion", it is rather surprising that pacifists should be enthusiastic over majorities seeing that their deepest convictions are so far from obtaining majority approval anywhere. Morality and conscience should not be subservient to mere numbers.

Despite this, my article (49 per cent or 51?) was not exactly an "attack upon democracy", against which I suggested that there should be no bias; what I attacked was the mischievous notion that democratic States have some particular affinity to peace and liberty. Freedom is closely associated with peace, as conscription is everywhere based upon the alleged need for "national defence", and in the hundred years between Waterloo and 1914 the war-waging record of democratic governments vastly exceeded—both in the number of wars and their duration—that of the more authoritarian; and the humbug of "re-educating Germans to democracy" and thus ensuring peace was nauseating. Aristocratic or authoritarian government should not be identified with tyranny.

Unilateral disarmament by one of the big Powers is often urged by pacifists, but if (e.g.) Moscow determined on such a course, Mr. Jeremy presumably would oppose it unless the policy had first been freely approved by a majority of "the people" in Russia. Such an attitude is reasonable only for someone who regards peace as secondary to political systems.

JOHN NIBB.

BM/JONIB, WC1.

Nationalism

WHEN going to my old home, I pass over Offa's Dyke and feel how tragic it is that men once killed each other for possession of that man-made barrier. I have also read of wars between English counties not very long ago; now, thank God, they play cricket.

The most cherished feature of the Llangollen International Eisteddfod is the spirit of oneness that exists. Spiritual kinship exalts people.

LLEWELYN LLOYD.

25 Derwent Avenue, Prescot.

Nationalistic concepts tend always to exclusivism. When I was a young soldier at Pembroke Dock, South Wales, the Welsh girls would not dance with us.

Was that because we were soldiers, or because we were English?

SAM WALSH.

10 Stevenstone Court, St. Giles in the Wood, Torrington, Devon.

Can nations really be united? The people within a nation can—against other nations. But even in a so-called alliance of nations national antagonism is there. The idea of nationalism is to unite a nation in competition against other nations to justify a particular order of society based on traditional beliefs. The advance of world wide communication and the scientific revolution has, however, made these traditional beliefs as out-dated as feudalism upon the inception of the Industrial Revolution.

To suggest that nationalism is an integral part of human nature is like saying that racial prejudice and class consciousness is natural. If they are, then how is human progress possible?

If we desire to preserve our individual human status and not the impersonal national state, we surely need to appreciate that scientific progress and moral survival by implication make all humanity citizens of the world.

ALBERT WALSH.

27 Viking House, Denmark Road, SE5.

JOHN NIBB shows the abuse, the very dangerous abuse of this innocent feeling by the states which is a main cause of wars. (cf. WRI Statement of Principles.)

There can perhaps be a controversy about the terminology ("nationalism" "imperialist nationalism") but no serious controversy about the object itself. With his sagacity and clearness of style John Nibb is one of the most important modern pacifist authors we have. May we often read articles by him.

RUDIGER FRANK.

25 Winterstrasse, Freiburg, West Germany.

Pacifists and Communists

TOM WARDLE and John M. Swomley, whose pamphlet he reviews (Peace News, December 10), have made the staggering discovery that the Soviet rulers are not pacifists and that, although they want peace, they only want it on their own terms.

They draw from this the unwarrantable conclusion that pacifists should refuse to co-operate with any Communist-inspired efforts to prevent war. In that case pacifists should not co-operate with anybody, for there is a strong suspicion that the Western rulers are not pacifists either, and that they too want peace only on their own terms.

I should have thought that in our present extreme peril people who want peace on any terms or from any motive should get together and work together to save the human race from destruction.

If the pacifist movement alone stands between the world and catastrophe the outlook is indeed desperate.

On the coast near here during the recent storms the sea threatened to flood the country for miles. It would have done so if people who for very different reasons did not want this to happen had sat down to investigate and sneer at each other's motives instead of getting to work to strengthen the sea wall.

Mr. Swomley, however, aided and abetted by Tom Wardle, has persuaded himself that no Communist sincerely desires to avert war. He tries to persuade us that all Communist peace propaganda is humbug and that all non-Communists who support it are deluded fools. It seems that "church people, liberals, humanitarians and pacifists" are eager to fall into any trap baited with "kindly overtures."

We get this sort of nonsense ad nauseam in the national press: must we also get it in Peace News from which we have learned to expect charity, to say nothing of common sense?

(Rev.) KENNETH RAWLINGS.

St. Michael's Rectory, Lewes.

DO not let a pacifist "Party Line" develop! Like all other party lines it will increase pride and prejudice. To the doctrinaire the means become more sacred than the end and the conflicts of bigotry are most bitter.

To attain peace between peoples we must love our neighbours as ourselves and this necessitates in us humility and understanding. If those who are working sincerely for peace cannot come together in their common purpose, examine, analyse and compare their practices, achievements, effectiveness of purpose and ideals, who shall?

To say "the Communist sponsored peace movement is purely an extension of Soviet foreign policy" as Tom Wardle does (PN Dec. 10), is prejudice, if not of McCarthy-like animosity, at least lacking in charity to multitudes who compose it.

Thanks to heaven Dr. Soper strikes a different note with his reference to the parable of the two sons; the vital necessity is to seek goodwill among men and truth wheresoever we can find it.

WALTER SPRADBERRY.

The Wilderness, Buckhurst Hill, Essex.

Bevan and war

THE headline of the Christmas number of Peace News is, most surprisingly "Bevan: Laugh the war men out."

What reason has the passer by, who stares at the headlines, for thinking that Mr. Bevan himself is not a war man? The general public is not entirely devoid of understanding. Surely at this season, our only pacifist paper could have risen above politics.

WINIFRED GREENFIELD.

16a Hillside Gardens, London, N.6.

December 24, 1954—PEACE NEWS—5

BRIEFLY . . .

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY of the Church of Christ in Japan has asked for a study of the problem of war and peace to be made by the Church—one of the three largest denominations in Japan and independent of foreign missions. The decision represents a victory for the pacifists in the Church headed by Rev. Nobuo Watanabe, General Secretary of his denomination's Peace Group.

MANSFIELD (NOTTS) PEACE GROUP has this year smashed all previous records in its sale of Christmas cards. Total sales amounted to over £60—a £17 increase on last year's figure. On Dec. 10 the Group organised its second annual jumble sale and a profit of £7 8s. was realised. Part of this will be devoted to the £10 target which each year Mansfield members set themselves to raise for contributions to the Peace Pledge Union, Peace News, the Fellowship of Reconciliation and other national peace organisations.

PANDIT NEHRU is to receive a Christmas Card from Bedford District Trades Council. Moving that the Council mark Human Rights Day in this way Mr. A. Robyns said: "Here is a man who was deprived of his rights and flung into prison three times by the British imperialists. He emerged to continue the struggle for national independence and was active in passive resistance. His influence was felt at the Korean and Indo-China peace talks. The fact that we spend this Christmas in peace may be due, in no small way, to his efforts."

The Hitler-Stalin pact

MAY I be allowed to reply to the claim of A. J. Muste that what Churchill did in 1945 is comparable to the manoeuvre of the Hitler-Stalin pact which preceded World War II.

The essential difference is that in 1945 the Soviet Union was our ally, whereas in 1939, the Russians were forced to come to an agreement with Germany because all efforts to get Britain and France to participate in a collective security pact against the Nazi menace had been rejected by our Government and France.

A. S. HOSKIN.

1 St. James Close, Heathcote Rd., Epsom.

Prison at Christmas

DURING 1914-18, whilst in prison, letters and visits were more than welcome. But the voices of sympathisers outside the prison walls singing Christmas carols—especially those suited to the occasion—and their encouraging words as they were driven away, are memories I shall never forget. If they are still alive, I still say "well done!"

Will those living today, please do the same for those in prison?

H. HALLAM.

88 Burford Road, Nottingham.

No Socialist is complete without

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MEETINGS
INTERNATIONAL CLUB, Bath. Every Tuesday, 7.30 p.m. Royal Literary and Scientific Institute, 18 Queen Square, Bath. All welcome.
KING'S WEIGH House Church, Duke St., nr. Bond St. Tube. Sunday at 6.30 p.m. The Gospel of Peace. Rev. Claud M. Colman, MA, B.Litt.

SUMMER SCHOOL
ANGLO-SCANDINAVIAN-AMERICAN Summer School: July/August, 1955. A fortnight in Sweden for £28 inclusive from London. International, Ecumenical fellowship. Write quickly for details to: Rev. John Banks, 37 Mayfield Rd., Manchester, 16.

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HOMELY ACCOMMODATION and jolly good food to visitors and permanent guests. CANONBURY 1340, Telke Shaylor, 27 Hamilton Pk., N.5.

AGM. DELEGATE recommends Shaylor for board of bed and breakfast.

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WAR RESISTERS' International welcomes gifts of foreign stamps and undamaged air mail covers. Please send to WRI, Lansbury House, 88 Park Ave., Bush Hill Park, Enfield, Middlesex.

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FOR YOUR MEETING. Don't forget that Housmans can supply all your literature requirements and quantities of Peace News. Send a postcard to Housmans Bookshop (Peace News), 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London.

SYBIL MORRISON, Kathleen Lonsdale, Reginald Reynolds and others write in Tidings, a Christmas Miscellany of stories, articles and verse. 64 pages, 2s. post free. Why not send a copy to a friend this Christmas? From Housmans, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

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IF YOU WANT TO HELP PEACE you can't do better than give a hand at Peace News. Volunteers welcome for daytime work and every Wednesday evening. Write, call or phone STA. 2262. Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4 (above stationers, Fish & Cook). Nearest Tube: Finsbury Pk.

LIVING-IN JOB required for young mother with baby. Experience in mother's help and domestic. Mrs. McKenna, 21 Abbotsford Ave., Tottenham, N.15.

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HOUSMANS STATIONERY DEPT. offer plain postcards, 2s. 6d. 100; 6 x 3 1/2 envelopes, white 18s. 6d. 1,000 box; manilla 10s. 9d. 1,000 box; white bank paper, 10 x 8 in., 7s. 6d. 500 sheets; Newsprint, 10 x 5 in., 15s. 1,000, 1s. 9d. 100; plain economy labels, 4 1/2 x 3 1/2 in., 13s. 6d. 1,000, 1s. 6d. 100. All post free.

SECONDHAND PACIFIST BOOKS will be welcomed by Housmans Bookshop. Proceeds of sales to Peace News Fund. Offers/Gifts invited. 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

DIARY

Thursday, December 30
LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Mr. Reg. Sorensen, M.P. "My Far Eastern Tour." PPU.

Friday, January 7
GLASGOW: 7.45 p.m.; Community Ho. Clyde St., 1. Group mtg. PPU.

Wednesday, January 19
BELFAST: 8 p.m.; Friends Inst., Frederick St. R. Martin Gibson, MA, PhD, "The Place of Science in Society." For.

Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers; organisers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

Thursday, Jan. 6
LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Miss Sinclair. "The Whole Life." PPU.

Friday, January 7
GLASGOW: 7.45 p.m.; Community Ho. Clyde St., 1. Group mtg. PPU.

Wednesday, January 19
BELFAST: 8 p.m.; Friends Inst., Frederick St. R. Martin Gibson, MA, PhD, "The Place of Science in Society." For.

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QUESTION AND ANSWER ON CD

Prof. Lonsdale's queries put to Town Clerk

WOMEN in the Borough of Hornsey, London, have written to their Town Clerk asking for his answers on certain questions on Civil Defence put by Professor Kathleen Lonsdale in Peace News on June 11, 1954.

The questions, put by Mrs. Mabel Blackwood on behalf of the Women of Hornsey Peace Group, together with the answers given by the Home Office via the Town Clerk, are as follows:

Q: How are we proposing to bury all the radio-active corpses that would be the result of an H-bomb or an atomic bomb?

A: Corpses are not radio-active so the problem does not arise.

Q: If millions of corpses remain unburied, how are we going to cope with the disease that would follow?

A: If "millions of corpses remain unburied" it is obvious that such an area would be inaccessible, and there could therefore be no spread of disease.

Q: If the atomic raids are accompanied or followed by germ-carriers, what measures can be taken to prevent plagues?

A: Obviously no measures can be taken against an unknown plague.

Q: If ports are destroyed and transport paralysed, how are food supplies to be maintained and movements of refugees away from contaminated areas controlled?

A: The review of planning covers such obvious measures as maintenance of food supplies and the control and movement of refugees.

Q: Are there plans for the building of deep shelters sufficient to accommodate all urban populations with a continuous supply of food to last several days at least, and the possibility of obtaining more by underground transport?

A: On this question the enquirer is referred to what the Secretary of State said in the House on July 5 last: "As the right hon. Gentleman pointed out, it is not possible in war to provide complete immunity from attack and the question is whether, it is feasible to provide such a degree of protection as to effect a reduction of casualties and a strengthening of morale commensurate with the effort and expenditure involved. This is not a question of bomb-proof shelter, which in general was not attempted in the last war and would not, on any view, be feasible. It is a question whether,

having regard to the probable scale of attack and the range of destruction by new weapons, any worth-while plans can be made."

Mrs. Blackwood's letter continues with a reference to some facts about the hydrogen bomb explosion as it would effect London. She then goes on to say:

"Civil Defence is an essential part of war organisation. It gives many people a false sense of security and conditions their minds to believe that war is inevitable."

In reply to this the Town Clerk's letter says: "Civil Defence is not a preparation for war, nor is it a mind conditioner. It is an insurance and part of the general preparations which have to be made in case war comes. The Secretary of State has said that no weapon has been evolved which makes civil defence useless. The bigger the bomb the bigger the area in which civil defence will have to work."

"I am to remind you that the Secretary of State has also said that it is impossible to say whether the enemy would consider it most profitable from a military point of view to use a bomb as powerful as the one he described in the House on July 5."

American Quakers refuse co-operation with CD

The offices of the American Friends Peace Committee and the Friends Social Order Committee recently refused to participate in a US Civil Defence exercise which covered the area of Philadelphia where they are situated.

The staffs went on working throughout the mock atomic attack. The day previously the Peace Committee issued a statement giving its reasons for not participating. This received some publicity in the local Press.

Oxford paper's complaint

The Oxford Times had some critical things to say about the Peace Pledge Union recently.

It referred to a Civil Defence exercise at which PPU leaflets calling for the renunciation of atomic weapons were distributed. The paper charged that the PPU was being used, presumably by the Communists, to their own ends. It said that the lack of a CD force would be "the clearest invitation to aggression."

The comment was replied to by Sybil Morrison, Campaign Organiser of the PPU, who mentioned recent cases where newspapers had apologised for stating that the PPU was either a tool of, or a part of the Communist Party.

Scots against conscription

A new leaflet published by the Scottish National Congress, asks young Scots "would you drop an H-bomb on women and children?"

It states that there are 70,000 Scots conscripts in the British Army and appeals to young men to consider the things they might be required to do in the performance of military service—perhaps in Kenya. The right of conscientious objection is set out and Scots reminded of the fact that there is no conscription in Northern Ireland "because a number of young men refused to be press-ganged into England's army." The leaflet is obtainable from 28 Elm-bank Cres., Glasgow, C.2.

GOLD NOT BREAD

● From Page One

It is however possible to buy a cheap loaf at the expense of a world economic crisis. The report sets out in cogent terms the present dangers.

Here is a new and vital challenge to world statesmanship. Let the 46 countries meet and negotiate a new agreement over a much longer period, providing for a planned increasing production at stabilised prices and for the disposal of increasing surpluses to the poorer nations at heavily subsidised prices. The cost would be no great burden. The result would be to make a new and immensely valuable contribution to the solution of world problems and world ethics.

Never so sure—Rebel MP

"NEVER in my career have I been so sure that I was doing right as when I voted against German rearmament."

George Craddock, MP, told a Sheffield meeting this when he spoke in the Montgomery Hall last Friday with another of the MPs expelled from the Parliamentary Labour Party, Victor Yates.

George Craddock said that he would not give his support to imposing conscription on the young men of this country for forty years. He did not believe that rearmament would lead to peace and called for leaders with ideals to set an example, and for the ordinary people to demand peace.

He believed that if the ordinary people of this country wanted peace they would get it.

Victor Yates, MP, recalled that the S.E. Asia Pact had been passed without a vote and appeared to represent the unanimous decision of Parliament, though he believed it to be as dangerous a threat to peace as the London Agreement on German rearmament. When the latter was brought before the House, the six MPs could not allow it to pass without opposition, hence their stand.

Opening the meeting, the chairman, the Rev. Pendril Bolton, recalled the speech of a noted Sheffield citizen who had declared in the 1930's: "An unarmed Germany is a danger to the peace of Europe."

The two MPs will address a Labour Peace Fellowship meeting at Nottingham on Sunday, January 2, at 7.15 pm in the Co-op Hall, Parliament st.

"Wars will cease..."

... I bring you tidings of great joy which shall be to all people... on earth peace, goodwill toward men. —St. Luke II, 10 and 14.

Our men, as if from mere habit, began to sing, "Christians awake!" And then the Christian did awake in English and in German, and they were no longer German or English to each other, but men... and when it happened it seemed more natural than wonderful. —More Thoughts on War, A. Clutton-Brock.

THE story has been told very often of how, in 1914, the opposing forces, deep in the mud and blood-stained trenches which fouled and desolated the fields and woods of France's lovely countryside, suddenly emerged on Christmas Day, and without guns or bayonets, ran across the wastes of "no-man's land," to shake hands and sing the nostalgic hymns of Christmas-tide, side by side with the enemy on the battlefield.

It is a story that cannot, I think, be too often told, nor too often remembered. Eyewitnesses have emphasised how natural it all seemed, almost as though they were convinced that in fact it was most unnatural. But, of course, the truth is that it seemed natural simply because it was natural.

In all countries of Christendom there is a movement of the heart and mind, and if possible of the physical body, towards home at Christmas time.

The best remembrances are recollections, perhaps, of childhood, of the incomparable thrill of waking in the early hours to see the stocking, hung up the night before all long and limp, now strangely and exquisitely bulgy and knobby; of the untying of knots, the crackling of brown paper, of lights and holly, of laughter and joy.

Even those who do not call themselves Christian, turn towards family and home at this time of year, and are probably to be found joining lustily in "Hark the herald angels sing."

The familiar tunes touch chords of emotion and sentiment which even though often tinged with grief and sorrow, have, nevertheless a fundamental validity, and an absolute part in the lives of people, whether they be rich or poor, Conservative or Socialist, agnostic or Christian.

It is not, therefore, very surprising or wonderful that on the battlefield these thoughts dominated over the indoctrinated, disciplined hatred of the enemy, which is one of the chief weapons in war.



It was natural, just then, on that day, when in the homes of both Britain and Germany, families were gathered together, children were playing with their toys, Christmas trees lit, churches filled, and thoughts going out to the "boys at the front", that those "boys" should have felt a sense of comradeship with all people whatever their nationality.

At that moment the "tidings of great joy" became real and true; there was in the very heart of those fighting men, trained to hate and kill each other, an overwhelming sense of goodwill towards each other, and so, under no orders, and without conferences or negotiations, there was, on that Christmas Day "peace on earth."

It was no miracle; it was natural, and it was true.

Because the war could have ended then; because, had those men gone on being brothers in Christendom they could not at the same time have been enemies in Europe, it was necessary for the authorities to see that it should not happen again.

But it remains a rock on which pacifists can securely stand, for it was then proved that in fact the ordinary soldier, in spite of all his training, in spite of ceaseless propaganda at home and abroad, obeyed orders from his own heart that transcended all the pomp and the power of the State.

And when those ordinary men obeyed those natural instincts, the unnatural act of war ceased. Pacifists are frequently accused of being idealists, as though that were some crime, but on Christmas Day, 1914, it was positively proved for all to see and to understand, that "wars will cease when men refuse to fight."

If this is ever to come about, then the spirit of Christmas must be kept alive day after day. Then, and then only, goodwill will rout suspicion, friendship will triumph over treachery, truth will defeat falsehood, kindness will transcend violence, and war, which is the incarnation of evil, will go down before the ascendancy of good.

Stunned, but happy!

YOU know that feeling of happy perplexity in which one emerges from an anaesthetic: you hope the operation has been successful, you are optimistic, but best of all, unbelievably, it's over—and you are alive...

Alone in the office, not a Christmas Card order fulfilled—not an unravellable query unravellable—and still a week to Christmas. This after three months of incredible, grinding hurly burly, three months in which a few pairs of hands have handled at least a quarter of a million Endsleigh Christmas Cards one by one, a quarter of a million envelopes, thousands of packages, a fortune of stamps licked, reams of postal orders and cheques; 20,000 order forms, ceaseless ringing of three phones in one room, ten people in ten square feet, Housmans Bookshop and Peace News publishing office inextricably entangled in it all; all this and much more, and now, bar stragglers, it's over.

Yes, our helpers and staff have fought a magnificent battle. The prize? Our aim was £1,000 for the PN Fund—too soon to hoist that banner—for book-keeping flagged this last quarter. But I guess we've made it and undoubtedly it has been a best-ever year in terms of output achieved.

We are more than grateful to all the readers and friends who worked so successfully to inundate us with orders. We are contritely aware that many had cause for complaint, but our printer, like us, was taxed beyond capacity, thousands of reprints could not come quickly enough. Next year we start earlier and spread the load.

So a very merry, a truly joyous Christmas to our practical friends who've helped us to earn our keep for another year.

Let us, in 1955, bring to the infinitely more urgent, more rewarding task of selling more Peace News, all the vigour and ingenuity devoted to the selling of Endsleigh Cards.

Thank you for 1954, and for 1955.

HARRY MISTER.

Circulation last week 11,500.

RADIO

By Joseph Fleming

Sir Oliver Franks at the village pump

THE Reith Lectures are considered to be the annual intellectual plum of the air. Under "Britain and the tide of world affairs" (Home), Sir Oliver Franks, summing up in his final lecture proved that by swimming through a sea of difficulties with a life-buoy of national exhortation, one can waste a great opportunity.

"We can be leaders—there are no quick answers—we have a sense of history (just what does that mean?)—continuing greatness of our country (bigger and better bombers?)—choice will show what people we are—total democracy is the test of our political faith (do you remember being consulted on conscription, American air bases in Britain and the rearming of Western Germany?)—established authority is destroyed by education (axiomatic? Is this why we spend so much educating 'our colonial natives?')—we have the economic power to make our voice heard... One or two shafts of light, but O, how local. Without inspiration. Ideal for the village pump!"

Like the chirp of the cricket at the back of our stove, Alistair Cook in "Letter from America" (Home), is always a welcome intrusion. Will the BBC extend the facility to Eastern Europe?

In the final broadcast of the series "The Third Freedom" (Home), Ritchie Calder and his team discussed how development can be obtained on a sufficient scale to prevent the world being overtaken by the rising tide of population and poverty. "At present there are only hit-and-miss investigations—efforts should be concerted—untapped food resources of the seas and the cultivation of deserts could provide all that is required—should birth control be encouraged—who is to be allowed to be born? (this was a jolt)—must we set a pattern? (blue prints for babies?)—everything depends on planning and education with emphasis on freedom."

The team were excellent, with the exception of Edward Crankshaw who went for an anti-Soviet ramble:—exploitation—deportations—labour camps—break up of peasant farms, etc., Why forget we once had our Enclosures Acts, convict settlements, "criminal" trade unionists and strikers, slave child labour in mills and mines?

To claim that the recent surge to the steppes to cultivate millions of acres is due to "the starry-eyed glamour of youth," is the vision of one in biased blinkers.

On the day the discussion took place, the following remark was made in New York by Mr. McEwen, Australian Minister for Commerce and Agriculture: "We are worried by the great United States surpluses of wheat and dairy products which lie over the world market and inhibit world trade. We think the United States should not continue to encourage surpluses it cannot consume."

Merry Christmas! And New Year too... don't forget to book for NEW YEAR'S EVE with SCR at 14 Kensington Square Dancing, prizes, Members' Bar etc. Tickets 5s. each.